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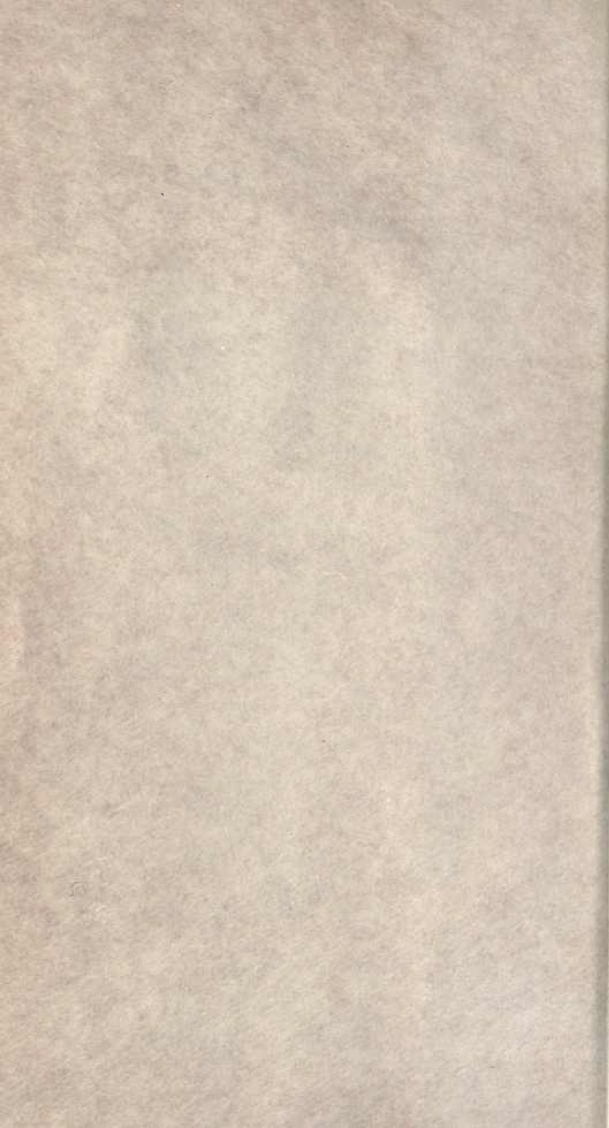
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An Appeal from the Hasty
to the Deliberative Judgment
of the People of England...

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES



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AN
APPEAL
FROM THE
HASTY
TO THE
DELIBERATIVE JUDGMENT
OF THE
PEOPLE OF ENGLAND;

*Chippisley Cove,
1787.*

CONTAINING

A Statement of the manifold Services rendered by our Fellow-countrymen in India, and the undeniable Claim they possess to the Applause of their Country,—to their good Fellowship and Esteem.

ALSO,

Vindicating the Characters of the MANY from the Imputations thrown on them by the Conduct of a FEW.

TOGETHER WITH

Some important Hints to Ministers, and to the Nation in General; but more *immediately* valuable to the Shipping Interests of this Kingdom; and humbly recommended to the Perusal of the Members of an august Assembly, during the Discussion of the Bengal Petition now before them.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. DEBRETT, opposite Burlington-House,
in Piccadilly.

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TO THE PUBLIC.

INDIA DELINQUENCY having become so much a general topic, and so much is it the rage, indiscriminately to include in the obloquy every subject of this kingdom employed in India, that natural justice to so large and respectable a body of my countrymen, who labour under the unprovoked injury of so universal and unfounded a prejudice, has induced me to offer the following thoughts to the Public, on a subject, which, though not personally concerned in, I have considered with that cool and impartial deliberation, which, the passions of prejudiced people, soured by the conduct of a guilty FEW, have rendered them incapable of exercising for the innocent MANY. My intention is not to screen the guilty, but to rescue the innocent from

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illiberal opprobrium. The justice and candour of my countrymen is such, that in this I can have little more to do than to place before them, in a conspicuous and concise point of view, the relative situation which our countrymen in India bear to us, and which the hurry of resentments only can have occasioned so liberal minded a People to lose sight of.

TRUTH.

AN

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A P P E A L,

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IT is not, at any time, either an easy or a pleasant task to contend against prejudices ; but becomes a still more difficult and discouraging labour, when those prejudices, however ill-founded originally, have taken root with time, and been suffered to grow into constructive facts and admitted data, for want of simple contradiction. Such is the frailty or degeneracy of human nature, that the mind of man is infinitely more prone to censure and condemn, even unarraigned and unheard, than to admit merit where due, or, where merit cannot be denied, to bestow encomium

comium however deserved, however conspicuously just; and this it's depraved appetite is ever voraciously ready to seize any object, any pretence, or even rumour, however fictitious or problematical, that can countenance or gratify it's rage, or justify it's unprovoked rancour. We cannot but reflect with astonishment, and our senses must revolt at the idea, that, amongst men of the most enlightened understanding, whose minds have been cultivated and embellished by every liberal adornment within the spheres of the first seminaries of education and learning in the known world, such dispositions, so diametrically opposite, so disgraceful, so libellous to that wonderful work of nature, Man, should exist; but, painful as the idea is, the fact is incontrovertible, and the history of the present, as well as past time, comprises but too true and striking a likeness of this portrait of deformity.---

If we turn our thoughts and reflections to the Western World, and contemplate at all the scene which, for a series of time, there employed the ablest and wisest counsels of the People of England, and the dreadful issue and consequences of it, we shall find, that it *originated in prejudice,*

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was *conducted in ignorance*, and has *concluded in rivetted obstinacy, anger, and compulsive severance* : ---that we lost thirteen rich and beautiful provinces, and as many millions of good, faithful, brave, and loyal subjects,---and all, because we were most *unnaturally prejudiced* against our fellow-subjects, whose coats we unfeelingly endeavoured to tear from their backs :---because we were ignorant of their strength, mistrustful of their fidelity, disdainful of their judgment ; and, scornfully rejecting that quantum of aid which their better reason and superior knowledge taught them it was more to our interest and welfare they should only *voluntarily* proffer under *wise limitations*, we vainly and madly attempted to exact one infinitely more hurtful and prejudicial for us to receive, than difficult, improper, or unjust for them to pay. And the Commutation Act shall testify to the latest posterity, and till time shall be no more, what the loss of America has sorrowfully taught us,---that we were driven wild by prejudice and ignorance, and that it was unjust, unwise, impolitic, and unprofitable, to pay so high a price for the *dried herbs even of China* ; or, in other words, to be mulct so large a fine for mistaking

taking and deviating so grossly from the duties of good financiers, prudent and dispassionate statesmen, as to raise the rate of teas, when our interests should have taught, and actually required us, to lower it.---But this was the effect of unnatural prejudice, supported by its inseparable companions, ignorance and obstinacy.

Turn our thoughts to the Eastern World, and we shall find a parallel losing game there also. Here, as with America, we again find two parties, which I may clearly distinguish by the *oppressors* and the *oppressed*. On one side, we see good and loyal subjects, faithful servants, and unexceptionably good men, who, at an early period of life having torn themselves from their parents, their kindred, and connexions, are devoting their time, labours, healths, constitutions, and lives, in climates proverbial for their inclemency, to the service of the Mother Country.---I speak of the collective body---the community of English subjects serving in India, at large.---On the other side, prejudiced and ignorant politicians converting themselves into judges of their conduct, which they take on presumption; unprotected masters, or employers, who silently suffer
their

their servants to be censured and stamp'd with every frantic and opprobrious epithet, tho' wildly foreign to truth; and obstinate, unfeeling fellow-subjects, whose brains are filled with envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness; and whose brows exhibit avarice, extortion, disappointment, discontent, and strife, and their foul bantling prejudice, which they have nurtured and cherished like a serpent in their bosoms; and I boldly warn them as the genuine dictate and belief of my soul, that it deserves and will require their utmost prudence to avert it's pernicious and poisonous influence from proving as calamitous and dreadful in it's effects and consequences in the Eastern, as it has been in the Western dependencies of this deluded kingdom.

In all cases, it is our duty to hear reason, and to enquire and inform ourselves before we venture to decide; how much more, then, is it incumbent on us to do so, before we proceed to condemn: and, in all cases, there exists some certain and indispensable criterion, some standard, by which the human judgment ought to be regulated and governed. On the subject we are to discuss, let us consider what that standard ought to be. It is

such as, I will venture to assert, the most virulent prejudices, the most partial, rancorous and envenomed mind will not dare openly to deny, however he may secretly wish to suppress.

First, we are insensibly led to enquire, who the class of British subjects in India are, against whom we are so unnaturally prejudiced, and what their connexion or affinity with us ?

Secondly, the nature of their services ; whether useful to us as a People, and serviceable to the State ; whether they are dutiful and loyal ; whether they share with us the common labours and toils of life, it's duties and services in aid and maintenance of the Parent State, as their submission and allegiance require ?

Thirdly, whether they are entitled to our commendation, or our censure ; our protection, and the just and liberal reward of their country for their services ; or its resentive condemnation and punishment ?

Fourthly, of whom consist the party, what are their merits, or what the services they have rendered their country, who have thus assumed or arrogated to themselves a right of jurisdiction

over

over their fellow-subjects, kindred, and countrymen, serving in India ?

This last-mentioned object, it may be adverted, is going beyond the boundary of a line purely defensive, in as much as a comparison of conduct, and principles of action, in favour of the gentlemen of India, here stated to be the party *oppressed*, may possibly tend to throw much blame on the people of England, and especially by proving them but too justly styled the *oppressors*. The defence of the former may so unavoidably involve the latter, that this may, in some measure, become an inevitable consequence; and will, of course, be found highly warrantable; for, if the people of England have assumed to themselves a right of jurisdiction over their fellow-subjects in India, which their relative situation neither can authorize, or which can at all be compatible with their connexion, our countrymen in India certainly are not more unnatural in following only such example; nor can they have less reason and justification for peremptorily insisting on replacing and maintaining themselves in that just degree of equality which God and Nature gave them; and of which, so long as they demean themselves as

good and loyal subjects, God and Nature only can have power to deprive them, however erroneously or invidiously their fellow-subjects may attempt it.

It assuredly is not my meaning, or at all to my purpose, studiously to condemn my brethren of England; so far otherwise, I could wish to find them as spotless in imputation, as they are generous in conduct; and as just, as they are brave! My sole pursuit is to rescue from the most ignorant calumny, (for nothing less than ignorance could give birth to so gross a species of it,) and to defend the absent few, who, from the most laudable and loyal motives, are serving their country in India; also not to suffer the hearts of their fellow-subjects to be detached, and their affections alienated, while it is possible that a simple Appeal to self-evident facts may conduce to awaken them from unnatural delusion to the exercise of that sense and good understanding with which Nature has endowed them for the most benign purposes, and prevent their submitting themselves to be imposed on by the ready-made opinions of men of weak judgment and illiberal minds, urged on by spleen, envy, or jealousy---
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men misled by every ill-founded and shadowless prejudice, with factious purposes in view, designing to blow up a conflagration that may forever sow the seeds of dissention, revive the animosity, and rekindle the fury of contending parties to such an unbridled degree, as may convulse the kingdom from one end to the other. I repeat, it is neither my meaning or purpose to condemn: my only object and wish is to defend a very meritorious class of *ourselves* from the undeserved oppression of the rest; and, as from the present public discussion of this subject, and a late popular decision in a certain assembly, which fully involves and carries with it an exculpation of the foul imputations generally and indiscriminately thrown on the community of British subjects in India, we clearly perceive liberality of thinking and acting on it, to be gradually diffusing itself over the opinions of mankind, strong inducements, and some encouragement, influence me to treat freely of their actual relative situation, firmly persuaded, that if sentiments, founded on the clearest reasoning, and the most unquestionable facts, that shall meet the understanding of every man capable of reflection, shall fail of influencing

fluencing a conversion, and shaking ill-founded prejudice from the minds of my countrymen generally, they will, at least, obtain many advocates amongst men of liberal sentiments and enlightened minds, who, I am perfectly confident, only require misinformation to be removed from their breasts, in order to correct and revoke opinions founded thereon; and who, it cannot one moment be doubted, will feel themselves scandalized in being thought to suffer passion or prejudice to influence their judgment one moment after the appearance of fact and truth. The judgment of a tribunal so justly disposed, it must be the pride of every honest man to obtain; possessing and regarding which as an inestimable treasure, he assumes a second dignity, and scornfully and contemptuously despises any scattered seeds of envy and jealousy remaining elsewhere, as the feeble resort of weak men and weaker minds, incapable of further mischief. Supported by the voice of the serious few, he no longer regards the clamour and noise of the thoughtless many.

Having thus candidly declared my object, and the motives which have induced me to come under the discussion and criticism of the public eye,

eye, where writers in general, however conversant with the world, however qualified to meet it, and whatever their merits, experience but little justice and less mercy, I do not think it improper to subjoin, with a view of obtaining a clearer title to an impartial and patient hearing, that I have not any other :---that I have not any party purpose to answer :---that I have not the most distant connexion with Ministers, and that formidable phalanx supposed to be latently engaged in the protection of Eastern delinquents; and, most probably, never shall :---that if I wish one man to be Minister before another, my preference, insignificant as it may be, is founded on and regulated by that simplest of all rules, “ that I think him “ the best qualified to render service to his country” :---that, connected with very few of the gentlemen from India---with none who have ever had the power to do mischief, or to bring the English name into disrepute, it is a matter of indifference to me, what the public opinion of them in general may be, otherwise than as I revere the cause of truth, in which I am not ashamed to be an advocate, however obnoxious the man suffering under it’s suppression.

To

To revert, then, to what ought to be the first object of our enquiry---Who the class of British subjects in India are, against whom we are so unnaturally prejudiced, and what their affinity or connexion with us?---

If it be possible, that an axiom of notoriety ever came within the compass of the human understanding,---within the orthodox admission of the whole world, this is one of so long an establishment as almost to forbid the enquiry which I here propose to make as an useless, unnecessary, and idle trouble: it most certainly ought to fall under that construction; but still, experience has shewn on every subject of discussion, generally, and on this in particular, that the human understanding is naturally given to roam and to traverse wide and even beyond the limits of the point under consideration, absolutely overlooking the vicinity within ocular demonstration, affording that surest and most indubitable evidence, which ought to have the first, the earliest, and most effectual operation and influence upon our judgments. It has so manifestly been the case in the instance before us, that I hold it indispensably necessary to recur to it, and endeavour to entice back my readers to the object
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which they have unpremeditatedly passed, and which it appears, has, consequently, wholly escaped their attention, or their recollection. They will forgive me, then, if, in the first moment of time, I remind them---of what requires no argument to prove---that the British subjects, serving their country in India, against whom they suffer such an unceasing torrent of invective, opprobrium, and virulent condemnation, to run wildly loose and madly frantic, *do not stand in a less near degree of consanguinity* than their own children, whom they really are!---Gracious God! *our own children!*---Yes, your own children, whom you have nourished, fed, and reared with every parental anxiety, but whom, not unlike the unnatural object of Solomon's judgment, you have almost given up to severance, without once deigning to open your ears for information concerning the cause, or reasoning on which such unnatural violence was founded---for what misconduct, or what crime, they have been thus disgracefully condemned! Nature and time teach us affection and attachment; and instinct mutually binds our yet inarticulate offspring to us, and us to our offspring. In what language, then, shall we de-

scribe---in what colours shall we even reflect, or suffer our imaginations lightly to touch, without horror, on the base desertion of those duties which we receive, as it were, by inspiration ! Base desertion ! I call it ; and hold it an infinitely more unpardonable transgression, in the sight of that awful Judge, “to whom all hearts shall be opened, and from whom no secrets shall be hid,” than any species of criminality to be found delineated even in the black catalogues of the crimes of a Jonathan Wild, a Major Semple, Catharine Rudd, or Warren Hastings !

Not to dwell longer on a position so undeniable, I shall only add, that I appeal for the truth of it to every individual who shall either read or hear it, and will implicitly abide by the decision of his own breast ; for it is next to a moral certainty, that it is scarce possible for any subject of this kingdom to sit in judgment amongst the people, and not find, that he has either a son, a brother, a relation, or connexion, in the service of his country in the East. Even Mr. Hastings (who, from the documents before me, notwithstanding his long studied endeavours to inculcate a very different belief, as a convenient cover for
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his own private purposes, appears to have been no less the oppressor of my countrymen serving under him, than the natives of India subject to his power) has described, in his public advices, “ many of them to be the sons of the first families “ in the kingdom of Great Britain.” Mr. Hastings is by no means the greatest of all bigots to Truth ; but in this self-evident instance, where no veil was to be found, he has certainly sacrificed at her shrine.

Having thus endeavoured to restore you to the lost sight of your children,---your dearest connexions,---I shall proceed to the second object of our enquiry, by no means less interesting, or inferior in it's consequences as affecting your passions, or less important as it shall concern your pride, viz. “ The nature of the services of these your children in India,---whether useful to us as a people, or serviceable to the State ; whether they are dutiful and loyal ; and whether they share in common with us the labours and toils of life, it's duties and services, in aid and maintenance of the Parent State, as their submission and allegiance require ?”

To minds liberally disposed, and inclined to
C 2 reflection,

reflection, I should only trespass, by entering largely into the wide expanse which the above positions comprize; it would, virtually, be to detail an history of the British governments in India for a period of time little short of two complete centuries; a work that would as far exceed my intentions, or what is at all necessary to my present purpose, as I am confident it would your expectations: neither have I the presumption to conceive myself qualified, by the occasional distribution of any allurements within the scope of my pen, and the humble scale of its description, to induce you to assume such an intolerable fund of patience, as would be absolutely necessary to accompany me through it. Besides, while you can turn to the superior, and, by this time, familiar productions of Verelst and Orme, you cannot possibly desire me to call to your memories more than their great leading features, if so much. I do not hesitate to conclude, you gladly join issue with me in this large retrenchment.

Our territorial acquisitions in India have long been the admiration and the envy of the whole European world; and, since the severance of America, our quondam friends there have thrown
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a lascivious eye on them likewise. The peace was barely concluded, before the Thirteen Stripes were flying in the river Ganges, and a contest begun with the Custom-Master at Calcutta, which was obliged to be *amicably settled*, by the Americans lowering their standard, and hoisting (of all others !) the flag of France ! It seems to be a question, on which time is wasted by the sages of the present day, philosophers, politicians, constitutionalists, and others *equally well informed*, whether the possession of our Oriental dependencies be more a burthen or a benefit to this nation ? I find it has likewise crept into the speeches of some of the national senators, who have even advanced a step further, and wished the nation a perfect riddance of them. It is the loose language of state quacks, issued at random, which deserves no attention ;---the doctrine of men, infinitely more useful friends to our enemies than to us, who have no other means of obtruding themselves into the knowledge of the Public. If our Eastern settlements be the admiration and envy of nearly the whole known World, which is a fact that will not be controverted, why ought they to be less valuable
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to us ? Surely, if we did not before know the treasures we possessed, the covetous thirst of our enemies after them should of itself awaken our senses to their importance. Possibly, they might be of less comparative estimation whilst we held good fellowship with America; but, alas! the situation of things is so widely changed since then, that we must now endeavour to retrieve in the East the dreadful losses we have sustained in the West. An annual contribution of a million and an half, and that greatly improveable, is no despicable aid to a nation like England groaning under taxation, and burthened with a heavy debt, the annual interest of which more than exhausts the whole of the national income; and, for this aid, (or whatever the obstinate caviller will allow it to be,) to whom are you indebted?---Not to the King's Ministers---Not to the East India Company, and their big-swalling-pompous Directors, for "*they toil not, neither do they spin*";---but, to *your absent children*,---your own offspring, who are serving in the East. It is to their merits ---to their industry---to their activity---to their good sense and prudence---to their discreet management---to their labours and toils, and to the heat

heat of their brows alone, that you are indebted for the possession of one of the most extensive, the most populous, and, probably, the richest and finest countries in the world, and for every return of property, acquisition and wealth, of whatever denomination, that you derive from the East. ---It is to their active zeal you owe the present exalted state of the East India Company, whose precedence in the commercial world is so much the object of your boast :---it was their wise and enterprising conduct which raised them from a confined trading company, without territory beyond the walls of a few small factories, barely on a footing with the present humble state of those of the French, Danes, Portuguese, or Dutch, to their now exalted condition of mercantile preeminence and territorial dominion, with a princely income of five millions sterling, a revenue which few potentates in Europe can boast. It was their good and spirited conduct which rescued this *little body* from the humiliating condition of being obliged to resort to and depend on the too often perfidious aid of our natural European enemies, their neighbours, for a combined protection against the oppressions of tyrant Mussulmen, and of enabling them

them to prescribe laws instead of receiving them, in one instance, and to grant that protection, in the other, for which themselves were before the solicitors. It was these our brave and faithful brethren, in all comparatively but an handful, who overcame myriads before deemed invincible, and obtained those lasting monuments of your glory in Asia for their country's benefit:---and, it was they who subsequently raised, disciplined, and attached armies to your service, whom they have repeatedly led to battle and to conquest, thereby giving stability and permanence to such vast acquisitions:---In short, it is to them you are indebted for the possession of a *second world* !!!---It is the literal exchange---the price which you receive for their blood shed in their country's cause, and their bones laid low in Eastern soil, of which the extensive European burial places at every settlement in Asia will bear lasting testimony*.---Yet these are the children whom

* To give my readers a competent idea of the state of mortality amongst Europeans in that country, where the individuals do not happily possess the expensive means of counteracting the pernicious effects of it's climate, I need only

whom you so hastily incline to abandon---to whom you envy the small participation of that immense wealth which their sacrifices have procured you, confining your observation with an evil eye, to the *fortunate very few* who live to return and share with you their well-earned property in their native country!---Small as, God knows, this their portion of wealth is, when put in competition with the numbers of those who drop in the pursuit, and, amongst whom, were the whole to be divided, it would barely afford each half a loaf! Shall we, then, thus unthinkingly suffer the imputation of envy to smother our admired character for generosity of sentiment, and benevolence of heart, and withhold the effusions of gratitude where so deservedly due?---Shall we, because not immediately under our eye, overlook the abundant merits of this division of our fellow-subjects, who, sent from their native country at an age of infancy, become responsible to

only instance the state of the British soldiery, the established number of whom ought to be *three thousand*; to support which the Company send an annual supply of *from eighty to one hundred recruits by every ship*, and yet are not able to effect it.—See Bengal Military Returns, seldom exceeding two thousand.

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a hard-judging world for their conduct, not only as men but as statesmen, at a period, when at home they are not emancipated from the school-master's discipline?---Shall we also overlook their merit at such an age of childhood in braving the rude ocean, and resisting the impetuous force of corrupt example during a six month's voyage, where blasphemy unceasingly circulates in all it's most horrid colours?---Shall we likewise forget the fiery shocks which their yet tender and unformed constitutions experience in hostile climes to the influence of which the strongest frames must bend?---Shall we lose sight of the dangers to which their young minds become exposed on their arrival by a communication with the most vicious and luxurious sect of people inhabiting the world, who court them with every artful adulation, as so many rising suns through the influence of whose rays they hope hereafter to benefit, and who endeavour to become panders to their passions and their will, as a certain means of enslaving them to their future purposes?---

Can we, I say, forget that with all these disadvantages of youth, inexperience, and temptation,
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they prove themselves honourable members of society, fulfilling every character thereof, both public and private, with virtue and integrity?

Can we avow ourselves so uninformed, as to deny to them these merits as a body, because a guilty few have, by their tyranny and oppression, excited our just indignation? Can we really force on ourselves a belief, that there were none to be found amongst them, whose hearts were sanctuaries too holy for guests so vile? Where is there an equal body of men, with equal trusts, and equal disadvantages, amongst whom so few exceptionable characters are discoverable?---Must we, because vice holds itself conspicuous in some daring characters, suffer it's dark rays to overshadow the brilliant virtues of the many; and thus allow integrity and abilities to be passively enveloped in the steam of unrighteousness?

No, surely: our resentments at an end, we shall sensibly feel the injustice of such general conclusions against our fellow-subjects in India; we shall draw the just line between merit and misconduct---between the innocent and the guilty; and while we denounce just punishment on conviction of the latter, we shall not fail to distri-

bute ample reward to the former. But these merits cannot so forcibly be exemplified, as by a short survey of the nature of their services : to effect which, I shall endeavour to paint their several and arduous avocations, in colours as just as the informations and documents I have so indefatigably aimed at collecting, will permit.

The British subjects, employed in India, are divisible into four descriptions ; but, I shall particularize Bengal, the seat of the Government General ; as it is from the valuable manuscripts of a gentleman from thence I have derived very much assistance.

The first of these descriptions consists of the Officers of the Civil Government, and Officers having commissions on the Military Establishment, all, or the majority of whom, are gentlemen, and the sons of gentlemen, holding equality amongst the first ranks of men, who will neither yield right of priority as subjects, or for a moment acknowledge inferiority in loyalty and fidelity to their King and country. Their friends made an interest for their election into the service of the Company, as a provision for life, in what they were taught to believe and consider a pursuit

suit of honour and profit; and they have been regularly admitted and enrolled, under ample qualifications and credentials, and obtained fixed rank and acquired rights on the public establishments. The number of civil servants is about two hundred and fifty, and the number of military officers about fifteen hundred: the duties of the former, much the same as the duties of office in England, from the First Minister of State in the Cabinet, to the youngest clerk at his desk, in every department of the British Government, and by no means less important; with a variety of stations, offices, and services, foreign and domestic, of much labour, difficulty, and intricacy, unknown to the Civil List of England, all requiring study, judgment, management, indefatigable application, and, what is more than all, the difficult acquisition of Oriental languages, and full insight into the characters, religions, and prejudices of the natives. My readers have an ample mode of detecting me, if herein I err, by a reference to the annual Report of the East-India Company to the Honourable House of Commons, stating the different offices and employments of their servants. But they will

will readily admit, that the various duties of populous and extensive kingdoms like Bengal and Bahar, with all their branching foreign interests and connexions, which, involving all Hindoستان and its vicinities, nearly communicate with the Continent of Europe itself, are not to be conducted with the ease and inactivity of a spinning-wheel, nor to be kept in regular routine by the approving nod of a powerful Minister, or the loud thunder of an able Oppositionist. As to military duties, you can ask no explanation. Let readers, who can judge of the general hardships of this service of honour, reflect but a moment on the additional toils of a brother soldier, labouring under the severities of a climate, where the thermometer in the sun is seldom less than 100, and, in situations where their duty calls them, many degrees higher; where a familiar acquaintance with the languages, manners, and religions of the men composing our armies, and where a study to invite and conciliate the natives bigotted to their own rules and prepossessions, and, subsequently, to gain and preserve the attachment of armies so composed, become a necessary part of the science. And, with respect to the general conduct of the army
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of Bengal, I am warranted to assert, that it has ever done them honour ; that they have exercised their profession with bravery, humanity, and moderation ; and the instance of the Rohilla conquest in 1774, exhibits the most noble instance which history affords us of resistance to the most alluring temptations in the hour of plunder, when they remained peaceable spectators of opposite conduct in the troops of our ally. The second description of British subjects comprizes the venerable Bench of Judicature, with all it's tribe of officers, dependents, and followers, to the number of about one hundred, consisting of Judges, Barristers, and a multitude of low, pettyfogging, ignorant Attornies, who having *exchanged* " *brewers aprons*" for " *Jacob's Law Dictionary*," and " *Druggists weights and scales*" for " *Every Man his own Lawyer*," have been admitted to practise, *secundum artem*, as quack doctors retail their nostrums, " no cure, no pay." This whole corps, with a few exceptions of amiable and good men, are virtually a flight of locusts, " seeking whom to devour," and will prove an everlasting stain on the wisdom of the Legislature, whose act is their licence, so long as one stone of this institution

stitution shall remain on another. And, what is their object?—Precisely, “ to *sow dissention* “ *amongst their fellow-citizens, and to get money!*” Lawyers are certainly the last class of professional beings who should be admitted into a country where the form of Government is yet immature. They profess mischief;---they make mischief, and they unmake mischief; they have mischief in their mouths, and they have mischief at their fingers ends!---And yet, they are called the “ Independent Corps !” Their late leader in Calcutta certainly placed little apparent value on his claim to that distinction, as he literally “ part-
 “ ed with his birth-right for a mess of pottage ;” but the Lawyers, not chusing to ape their bright luminary in this his new orb, still maintained their’s, and when, during the late war, the British subjects in Bengal were required to form themselves into a militia, the Lawyers pleaded their independence of the Company’s government, and the assistance of a search warrant must have been required to have found any one of them on the parade on field days. This certainly was one species of independence, and is a tolerable good specimen of the acuteness of their talents for perversion.---
 Their

Their continuance abroad is not only very unnecessary, but very pernicious, as the execution of Nuncomar; on an *ex post facto* law, and the heavy losses the Company have sustained by their officious interference, have evinced. And, having thus described the second class of our countrymen in India, as I shall have no occasion to revert to them, or their pursuits, I shall dismiss them with a most serious recommendation to the nation at large, to insist on their evacuating Bengal without delay---in some such mode as Mr. Hastings recalled the representative of the British nation from the Court of Lucknow*.

The third class consists of a few Clergymen, upwards of an hundred Surgeons and Apothecaries in the civil and military employ of the

“ Mr. Richard Johnson.

“ Sir,

“ You are hereby peremptorily ordered and commanded, within forty-eight hours of the receipt of this letter, to quit Lucknow, and repair without delay to the Presidency of Fort William.— We have further to acquaint you, that the Commanding Officer at Cawnpore [a military station] has been directed to enforce these orders, in case of disobedience on your part.”—See India Papers, vol. ii, p. 25.

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Company,

Company, the exercise of whose functions there are the same as in every other part of the world; and about as many free merchants, a respectable body of gentlemen, who, although not covenanted servants of the Company, have their sanction to reside, and engage themselves in private commerce, and many of whom have rendered very essential services to the nation; but particularly a gentleman, who lately gave evidence in an honourable Assembly on the subject of opium, and whose services are on their records. See India Papers, Vol. VI. p. 22.

The fourth and last class includes a most useful body of pilots, seamen, handicrafts, and mechanicks, whom service, necessity, or chance, have introduced, and who are there by sufferance, and, probably, without any express licence from the Company; and a corps of well-disciplined troops, to the number of about two thousand, whose duty, as in other armies, simply consists in obedience.

Let us now proceed to examine, how the duties of the government are fulfilled.

The whole world bear testimony of the great and enviable advantages accruing from our possessions

sions in India,---advantages not derived from chance or magical influence, which must follow, if our brethren in India possess no merit, but entirely from the prudent management and able conduct of these our brethren, to which only we are beholden for every importation of wealth or property from thence.---In this kingdom we justly hold up as a prodigy a single instance of youth, because, with the advantages of a finished education, and the assistance of wise and experienced counsellors, deemed capable of guiding the helm of a state ; and great, it must be acknowledged, is his merit.---But, shall we at the same time deny what is due to our still younger brethren in the East, whose abilities in the same various branches are equally called into action, executed with equal judgment, integrity, and success, although removed from their studies at a period of life, when the most brilliant part of their education would only have commenced, and whose further improvement can alone be the effect of their own sole merit.---Let us not suppose the government of India to be a mere system of trade and plantation. The civil government is divided into three distinct branches,

comprising the political, the revenue, and the commercial departments; into each of which the civil servants of the Company are stationed as their talents and capacities render eligible, and they gradually rise in their respective lines,---with few exceptions, circumstances sometimes occurring to occasion a removal from the one branch to the other: and this should account in England to such as appear surprized at finding gentlemen return from India not equally conversant in each of these distinct and extensive departments; add to which the orders of the Company prohibiting* their servants from a free access to the

* *Extract of a General Letter from the Honourable the Court of Directors, to the Honourable the Governor General and Council, dated 21st Sept. 1785.*

Paragraph 50. We have long regretted an abuse which is now become so prevalent, and has gone to such an extent, that we must be peremptory in taking the most effectual measures to put an end to it. We allude to the practice of our servants having access to and transmitting home to their private correspondents, such part of our Records as they think proper. Our orders, therefore, are, that no person but the Members of the different Boards shall have access to their Records, except the Secretaries of such Boards, and those entrusted by them; and that no private copies shall be given thereof, except to the President of each Board, if he shall

the records of any other department than that to which they immediately belong, although they

shall desire it. To these persons so entrusted we shall look for responsibility; and if copies of any of our papers, correspondence, or Records, shall be discovered in the possession of any persons not warranted by the Government either at home or abroad, we shall certainly take the most effectual measures in our power to discover by whose means the communication has been made, and will dismiss from our service any person who shall be found guilty of disobeying these our orders.

51. Another practice of a similar nature likewise calls for our animadversion. Many of our servants possessing our most confidential situations are accustomed to indulge themselves, without reserve, in corresponding, by their private letters, upon the public affairs of the Company. This is attended with many inconveniencies, is directly contrary to our repeated orders, and we desire you will take the most effectual means to prevent it; and if any of our servants presume to continue in a practice so contrary to our wishes and orders, we shall certainly mark our disapprobation by the severest tokens of our displeasure.

52. It is incumbent upon us further to inform you, that a practice has sometimes prevailed of late, of our servants abroad sending home public letters to the care of persons resident in this country, to be delivered by them or not, as in their discretion they shall think proper: we prohibit any such practice in future; and direct that all letters to us from our servants abroad, be addressed directly to the Court of Directors, and sent by the usual conveyance; no other will be received by us.

professedly

professedly expect their servants to be qualified for all departments.---In the political line the number can be but few ; yet among these we find finished ambassadors, prudent negociators, and able statesmen.---The revenue branch is more diffuse, and it's duties more complicated and arduous, yet executed with that superior degree of judgment, punctuality, and ability, which only requires to be known to excite both our admiration and astonishment.---The business of this department is intricate, laborious, and manifold, inasmuch as it comprizes all the various duties of a minister ;---of civil and criminal magistracy ;---of investigator of the resources of provinces ;---of assessor and receiver of revenue ;---of comptroller of taxes, duties, and customs ;---and of treasurer, &c. &c. with all the most difficult management of finance ; add to which a competent knowledge of the languages, manners, superstitions, customs, and corrupt practices of the various sects of people residing within their extensive jurisdictions, whose undermining intrigues, incessantly at work, require the most active and vigilant ability, and which it is not possible too warily to counteract.---Here we find youths

youths governing populous and extensive provinces, many of them nearly as large as Great Britain itself---youths presiding in crowded courts of justice, hearing causes and appeals from thousands in their respective languages, and deciding with justice, integrity, and universal satisfaction.---How few of these provincial decisions have ever been arraigned of error or injury, and how still fewer it has ever been found proper to reverse, even Sir Elijah Impey, who presided over the Court of Appeals at the Presidency of Fort William, and whose bitter prejudices against the servants of the Company are on record, cannot scruple to bear testimony.

Nor is the commercial department, though standing in order the last, of the least importance to this country, as it is to the judgment and good conduct exercised in this line, that this kingdom, and, virtually, every part of the globe where the products of the East are in estimation, are indebted for the great improvement of their manufactures, and for those well-chosen investments sent home by the servants of the Company, which annually allure the whole European world to our ports and markets. The magnitude and importance of these

these advantages will not be disputed ; but, great as they are, I find by enquiry, that, had the recommendations of the servants abroad been duly attended to and supported by Directors and Ministers at home, those advantages would have been greatly multiplied.---For the want of a grateful communication of property between that country and this kingdom, individuals have been helplessly driven into the arms of other nations for the remittance of their fortunes, and thereby have enabled foreigners to carry on a trade, in a country, the commerce of which we profess to claim the exclusive* privilege of, nearly co-extensive with our own, almost wholly on credit :---whereas, had the Company opened their treasury, as they *ought to have done*, for remittances at a liberal rate of exchange, even *decently* within the terms of foreign bills †, and *augmented their investments* accordingly,

* This “exclusive privilege”, *to our disgrace be it spoken*, affects only the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, those of all other nations having a free intercourse with all the Eastern settlements, whether those of England, or otherwise.

† Foreign bonds on respondentia under a specific mortgage of the ship and cargo, at an exchange of 2s. 3d. the current rupee, and ten per cent. premium, while you may ensure for six, payable in London nine months after the arrival

cordingly, they would have *multiplied the national advantages* :---they would have *multiplied their own*. Such measures would *have encreased the customs* ;---would *have encreased the national strength by encreasing their shipping*, which, fitted out armé en flute, might have been converted into ships of war as occasion should require :---would have established a certain and infallible nursery for seamen, that most important object to England,

rival of the ship at her destined port.—For the terms offered by the English Company, read their own words,—when they last authorized bills to be drawn—viz. in Sept. 1785.—

“ All these bills, both for the bonded and the other debts, are to be drawn at an exchange of one shilling and eight pence the Bengal current rupee, and at a proportionable rate of exchange for the pagoda and Bombay rupee, to be settled by our Governor General and Council. They are to be made payable 548 days after date, with an option to the Company to postpone the full payment thereof, on paying interest upon them half yearly, at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum, from the date of their becoming due, and also on paying instalments of not less than 10 per cent. on the principal in every year, after the 1st March 1790, unless it shall suit our convenience to discharge them by earlier or larger payments ; and for the purpose of rendering those bills more convenient to the holders, they are to be issued to each creditor in bills of five hundred pounds each, and one bill for the fractional part, if any such shall be owing to him.”

now so much wanted :---would have given employment to large bodies of people ; prevented competition with the foreign world, and, by reducing them to the necessity of importing bullion for the support of their remaining trade, as formerly, they would have aided our settlements by the introduction of specie, instead of the disadvantages of it's drain, from the effects of which they have for some time past been drooping.--- This is a subject of so much serious moment to this nation, that it is entitled to claim the particular attention of it's Ministers, and the whole shipping interests ; nor can I omit this opportunity of *testifying to the People of England at large*, that if, from the assumption of the Bengal Government by Lord Clive in 1767 to the present time, 1787, there be any one point of duty in which their brethren serving abroad have been more uniform than another, it has been the recommendation of this subject to the consideration and adoption of their employers.

From the foregoing short premises, I trust, the generous reader will readily feel and acknowledge with me, that the services of these our absent brethren are highly meritorious and
 “ useful

“ useful to the State ; that they are dutiful and
 “ loyal, and *more* than share in common with us
 “ the labours and toils of life, it’s duties and
 “ callings, in aid and maintenance of the Parent
 “ State :”---and, from hence will also conclude,
 in the terms of the third question of our investi-
 gation, “ That they are justly entitled to our
 “ most grateful commendation, and not our cen-
 “ sure---to our warm protection, and the just and
 “ liberal reward of their country, for their ser-
 “ vices, and not to it’s resentive condemnation
 “ or punishment.”

It now only remains to consider the situation
 and merits of those most eager to become the ge-
 neral and illiberal censurers of so large and re-
 spectable a part of ourselves, who, without being
 at the trouble of reflection or enquiry, have, from
 the alledged misconduct of a few, arrogated to
 themselves the right of passing sentence on the
 whole.

Among these I can only discover persons pos-
 sessing the *negative merit* of inheriting rank or
 independence from the virtue or toils of their
 ancestors ; whose *most fatiguing expedition* has been
 a “ summer trip to the Continent, in search of an

“ Opera dancer,” and whose *most glorious exploit* has consisted in a “ successful elopement, where “ no rescue was attempted ;” or others, moving in the more humble sphere of aping their betters in the repetition of common-place opinions, as the most promising mode of securing their future favour. Surely, these ought not to prove leaders of sufficient weight to bias the judgment of the people of England, whose justice, on reflection, will ever teach them to question their own right of passing sentence, as well as the grounds on which they proceed ; and until they forfeit the character of Britons, they will be as cautious in assuming a competency of judgment improperly, as tenacious in it’s maintenance when admitted. Yet, for want of such reflection, I am sorry to say, the jurisdiction has not only been assumed, but they have actually proceeded to judgment---hastily, I will admit ; but nevertheless carrying with it all the poignancy of condemnation and consequent prejudice, with strong indications of which the press at present teems ; and the “ delinquency and peculations of our servants “ abroad,” come as pat from the mouths of every porter at the India House, as “ the last “ dying,

“ dying speech and confession of the malefactors
 “ executed at Tyburn,” from that of the butcher’s parrot of St. Martin’s Court; and though with as little intellectual connexion, yet as eagerly listened to by the wondering and credulous multitude.

The terms “ delinquents” and “ peculators,” appear to be received as synonymous descriptions of gentlemen serving abroad; yet it is by no means free from apprehension, that too strict an enquiry would prove them infinitely more applicable to those of corresponding stations in England. But, with what eye would the injustice of the gentlemen from India be regarded, were they therefore to pronounce indiscriminate censure?— However, admitting misconduct among our brethren of the East, (for what but imperfection is the lot of humanity!) it clearly can only be confined to a few. Misconduct necessarily implies a pre-existing power to incur it; common sense teaches, that few there are in any Government, who can possess that power; and that it can only be among those few that we can look for responsibility: therefore, the accuser, be he who he may, previous to condemnation, should dispassionately

tionately and deliberately question himself as to the power of the party arraigned, and regulate his opinions accordingly. The British inhabitants of the East are no more *all rulers individually*, than the whole people of England: it would be preposterous to suppose it; but it would not be more preposterous to condemn the whole people of England on that ground of constructive abuse and oppression, than it is to involve, under indiscriminate condemnation, the whole body of British subjects in Asia. Much pains have been taken to load with opprobrium a service, which, in itself, is indisputably honourable; but wherein can the difference of service between England and Asia consist, the pursuit being so much the same, as to entitle the former to imply purity, while the latter shall only infer contamination? The most rigid analysis will prove to an axiom, how ridiculous the doctrine;---it will evince, to mathematical demonstration, that the object of both services is alike a mixture of honour and profit; that wealth is not less our pursuit at home than abroad. But here, I apprehend, the comparison between our brethren of India and ourselves, will not prove favourable to us, if we re-
 vert

vert to the difficult, dear bought, and far sought rewards of the one, and to the satisfactory ease of the obtaining it at home in the bosom of their native country, amidst their families and friends, and without the sacrifice of health, or any one enjoyment that can attend life, by the other :--- these last, moreover, possess not the plea of having a competency to seek, which, as I have before said, they already have the negative merit of deriving from their ancestors, but are actuated by the inordinate thirst of accumulation ; whereas, the former go professedly in search of a well-earned competency, which, when acquired, they return to share hospitably amongst their countrymen. And shall we, my friends, think even the meanest of our fellow-subjects in this kingdom entitled to enjoy unmolested the fruits of his industry, and deny the same privilege to those who have paid so dearly for the acquisition of independence, in the accomplishment of our aggrandizement abroad ? Or, can we suppose, that the official advantages in that country, any more than in this, are confined to nominal, inadequate salaries ! We need only have recourse to the Kalendar to satisfy ourselves on what an unreasonable ground

ground such an expectation would here be formed ; and wherefore affect surprize at the existence of emolument in India, beyond the salaries annexed, which, in that country, are not even equal to the most rigid frugality ;---but, were they even a *decent* maintenance, could we reasonably expect gentlemen to quit their native country, their families, and friends, in pursuit of a mere temporary subsistence, and thereby subscribe to banishment, like felons transported for life, without hope of return ! If the service of the East be a service of emolument, as it undoubtedly is, and certainly ought to be, the service of England is not less so ; and I venture to pronounce, without the fear of contradiction, that they are alike avowed, and so equally well understood, as alike to have obtained sanction from the necessity of toleration. But, we need not instance either England or India ; all services whatever have their foundation in emolument, which forms the cement of association, and creates the only title we can make to the assistance of our fellow-creatures.

It may here be alledged, that India Delinquency stands actually before the nation in most glaring
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ing colours. But, let us for a moment examine the situation of parties so arraigned, and we shall find, that they are wholly confined to such individuals, as in a former part of their lives, having returned with moderate fortunes and reasonable views, were corrupted by the intrigues and evil example of those at home, to answer different views, and taught so well to feel the necessity of abundant riches in this extortionate country, as to make them desperate in their resolves on future acquisitions at any price. I am perfectly warranted to use this last, though harsh expression; for, who can deny, that the gentlemen from India, immediately on their landing in England, become objects of general prey to plunderers of all denominations? This, without the sting of the present fashionable vices, so well understood within the precincts of St. James', has not a little contributed to drive many of them back again, while others, failing in this expedient, have actually sunk under the weight of it's oppression.

But, it may be said, the general condemnation before alluded to has even originated from the authority of the head of their own community.

(See Mr. Haſting's Letters from Bengal, 5th May 1781, and from Lucknow, 30th April 1784, &c.)

How far the ſentiments contained in thoſe letters were dictated by truth, or what oppoſite impreſſions they were calculated to effect, the People of England can by this time form a competent judgment. I am happy to ſee that my countrymen, thus injured, have found protection in the lights thrown thereon by Mr. Burke's bright and able exertions; for, in a Government conſtituted like that of Bengal, where our ſuperiority is more ideal than real, the *governing* being ſo out of all proportion to the *governed*, the degradation or depression of the Engliſh name and character is by no means the leaſt exceptionable part of a Governor's conduct. The before-mentioned Letters would lead us to believe, that *all* in India were corrupt, *except the author*; but, unleſs the ſyſtem of ethics be reverſed, it is morally *impoſſible* for the *body to be ſo univerſally diſeaſed, and the head remain unpolluted*. Whoever ſhall be at the pains of peruſing the Letters in queſtion, will readily admit the juſt ſentiments contained in the late celebrated oration of an
honorable

honorable Member of the House of Commons, that “ such imputations on the English name “ were most readily and joyfully countenanced “ as a screen and shelter for his own (the author’s) abandoned profligacy.”---For my own part, I shall only further observe, that *those productions are the Author’s own libels on his own administration.*

It may be observed, that the object of this condemnation is not the acquisition of wealth, but the practices of cruelty whereby it is obtained. This is a worn-out charge, which never could be verified. The British inhabitants of India have on more occasions than one loudly applied to their country, (see Comments on their Petition to Parliament, in the year 1779,) “ to “ call forth from amongst them any individuals “ whose conduct was exceptionable, to conviction “ and punishment,” and even offered their services “ to assist in the prosecution ;”---but, from that hour to this, no case of guilt has ever been presumed, except in the instances of a certain Baronet, and a late Governor General : the first is recent within the mind of every man, as it regularly underwent a Parliamentary enquiry : the

second is now before them; and, if he be that honest man he announces himself, like an honest man he will desire to go to his trial, and, like an honest man, be acquitted.

But, my good friends, admitting for a moment what is *most diametrically opposite to the truth*, that cruelties have been practised. If a zealous abhorrence of such acts be your motives, you have a very extensive field before you, for the exercise of your clemency, in the long sanctioned practices of the West Indies, where slavery and cruelty are reduced to a system, and human nature is your traffic*. While you publicly countenance such practices as these, to what short of envy can be attributed your strictures on your brethren in the East? It will be difficult to persuade future ages, that your condemnation of *alleged conduct* in one part of the world is the

✓ * I have been well assured, that, in the West Indies, slavery is reduced to so complete a system, that planters there make regular calculations by which they are governed in the treatment of their slaves, and from which they find it more beneficial to work their slaves to death in the short space of three years, than to allow them the course of nature's span in the performance of ordinary duty.

effect

effect of humanity, while you *publicly* enjoy the benefits arising from the *open sale* of your fellow-creatures in another !!

Having thus offered a vindication of the conduct of my countrymen against private prejudice and public representation, let us advert a little to some public acts of this nation, whereby they have just reason to consider themselves injured.

In 1773, we passed an act under the plea of correcting prevalent abuses in the administration of the Company's affairs both at home and abroad, which, by depriving them of their natural right of trial by jury, the great palladium of the freedom of England, became an arbitrary and unjust oppression ; and this was farther aggravated by the institution of a Court of Judicature, vesting in the Judges, or at least leaving them the power to assume an undefined jurisdiction, accompanied by a species of discretion in the dispensation of justice, unknown to the system of jurisprudence and the practice of the Courts in Great Britain, by which these Judges virtually became Legislators also. Measures of such tendency require no comment to an English reader. But, injurious as they were to the birth-

rights

rights of Englishmen, let us examine with what temper they were received in India. The operation of this institution commenced in Bengal in the year 1774. It is not to be supposed our brethren there could be insensible to so gross a grievance, or that their minds could be otherwise than filled with alarm, at thus becoming the objects of measures so unconstitutional, and far more calculated to multiply than to remedy the evils which they were professedly to remove.--- They nevertheless received the act with the deference due to the authority from whence it issued, and unmurmuringly submitted to it's practice and effects, for a period of near five years, in order to give it a full and uninterrupted trial; and, then only, on bitter experience of it's baneful consequences, came forward in a modest and respectful appeal to their country, signed by six hundred and forty-eight as good and loyal subjects as any in his Majesty's dominions, for that redress to which they were so well entitled.--- But, I am sorry to cast so great a slur on the honor and justice of my country, as to observe these grievances, crying as they are, still undressed: nay, we have, on the contrary, even
 added

added insult to injury, by the subsequent act of 1784, not only by divesting them of other rights and privileges derived from their situation and length of services, but, to the disgraceful encouragement of base informers, who, in that country in particular, are ever ready to sacrifice their masters, or protectors, to sordid purposes. I shall not enlarge on that clause of the act which was a monument of so much glaring disgrace to our nation, that it's framers found it wise to repeal it. I must, however, observe, that the insult it offered was complete in the enacting it, as it fully and strongly expressed the ill-founded angry bias which raged in the minds of their countrymen against them. The clause in allusion cannot fail to be in the recollection of my reader; but, to bring to his mind the full influence of it's injurious tendency, let him reflect with what temper such a clause would be received among the people of England, and more particularly among the Members of that very House, who framed and passed the act for others.

Still unredressed, the grievances of our fellow-subjects in India now form the substance of a second petition to their country, which has, at length,

length, found its way to the table of the House of Commons ; but, under so many difficulties and discouragements, as to damp the prospect of the redress reasonably looked for ; at least, should any weight be given to the extraordinary opinion of an honorable ministerial Member on the motion for its introduction, who, if he did not consider the petitioners as the *inanimate property* of the East-India Company, clearly reduced them to the state of live stock ; for, “ how,” says he, “ can we receive a petition from those “ who are only the servants of the Company, “ when the Company themselves [or, in other “ words, *these gentlemen’s owners*] have not petitioned !” As the discussion of India business, from the conspicuous and exalted station which this honorable Member fills, must completely absorb his thoughts at present ; and as it is by no means unusual with him to trample on all *distinctions of locality*, so, on this occasion, he must certainly have transported his mind’s eye from Calcutta, the residence of *gentlemen not in any respect his inferiors*, to the wretched scene of English avarice and despotism in Rohilcund, where *our humane ally* the tyrant Sujah Dowlah, “ having [it is “ said]

“ said] converted the Rohillahs into subjects, the
 “ next thing he does is to deny them the rights
 “ of human creatures, and palpably consider them
 “ as inanimate property, which the owner may
 “ dispose of as he thinks fit.”---Good Heavens!
 what a doctrine! I congratulate my country,
 however, that it did not proceed from the *mou**th***
of an Englishman; and that the rectitude of a
 British House of Commons scouted such senti-
 ments with the scorn they deserve. We ought
 not, however, to be affected with surprize at the
 speech in question, when we reflect, that the pe-
 tition against which it argued, was produced by
 the oppressive act which this very Member is sup-
 posed to have had so ample a share in framing,
 and of which the most offensive clause (said to
 have been his favourite bantling) but too plainly
 characterizes it's author, and his talents for des-
 potism.

We shall not relinquish the hope of seeing the
 natural justice of Parliament exerted in a due
 attention to the reasonable prayer of the petition
 of these our fellow-subjects. An English House
 of Commons has ever hitherto gloried in opposing
 unconstitutional measures---and they would de-

fert their duty if they did not : such instances, therefore, of encroachment, as now aggrieve our fellow-subjects in India, can only be attributed to ministerial faction ; and, consequently, it is to be presumed, cannot be of much longer duration. Justice will ever prove a sufficient spur to Englishmen, without having recourse to the additional motive of caution against driving the oppressed to such desperate acts as the strength of a powerful army, consisting of fifteen hundred experienced officers, and sixty thousand brave and well-disciplined troops, attached to them from affection and service, in possession of a rich and extensive country, yielding a most princely revenue, and fraught with every valuable resource, might enable them to effect. But, should Ministers persist in turning a deaf ear to the just claims of the petitioners, because they possess the power so to do, and determine to withhold rights, to the possession and free exercise of which, the loyalty, fidelity, and great achievements of our brethren in India, in their country's cause, would of themselves be deemed an ample title under more reasonable men, I shall most earnestly recommend it to such rulers,

to

to turn their reflections to the fatal and yet bleeding effects experienced from such unfeeling and injudicious conduct towards our late brethren in America; whose persecution, as I before said, “originated in prejudice, was conducted in ignorance, and has concluded in compulsive servance.” Our fellow-subjects in the East have shewn, that they can bear distress like men, and feel like men; and while we shall continue to possess our valuable acquisitions in that country, which we at present hold on a tenure of perpetuity as the tribute of their eminent services, and which nothing can shake, while we continue to possess their affections and attachment unshaken, we certainly cannot require to be reminded, that they can also *act like men*. Let us, then, beware how we drive them to extremities; nor, when they apply to us for bread, present them a stone. Our errors towards them are hitherto retrievable with honor;---but, leaving the protection of their petition to the more able and interested advocates acting under their immediate delegation, I shall not further trespass on the patience of my readers. The object of this Appeal is of a different nature; and I dare trust, the candid

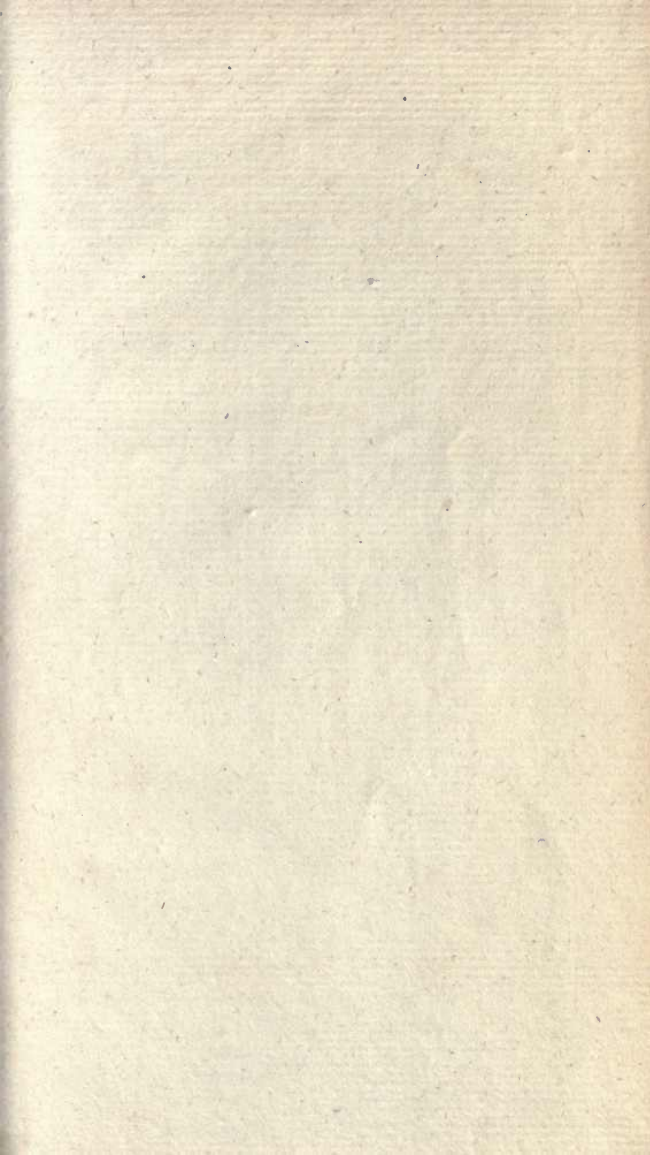
and generous minds of my countrymen, ever open to conviction, particularly in the cause of TRUTH, will have suffered my just, though unadorned arguments, to remove the veil of prejudice from their understandings, nor longer allow “ the dark rays of vice, conspicuous in a
 “ few daring characters, to overshadow the brilliant virtues of the Many, and thus suffer integrity and abilities to be passively enveloped
 “ in the steam of unrighteousness : ” ---that they will not confound particular error with general merit and loyal service ; nor forget, that their *fellow-subjects in India are a part of themselves, and have never yet been deficient in their country's cause.*

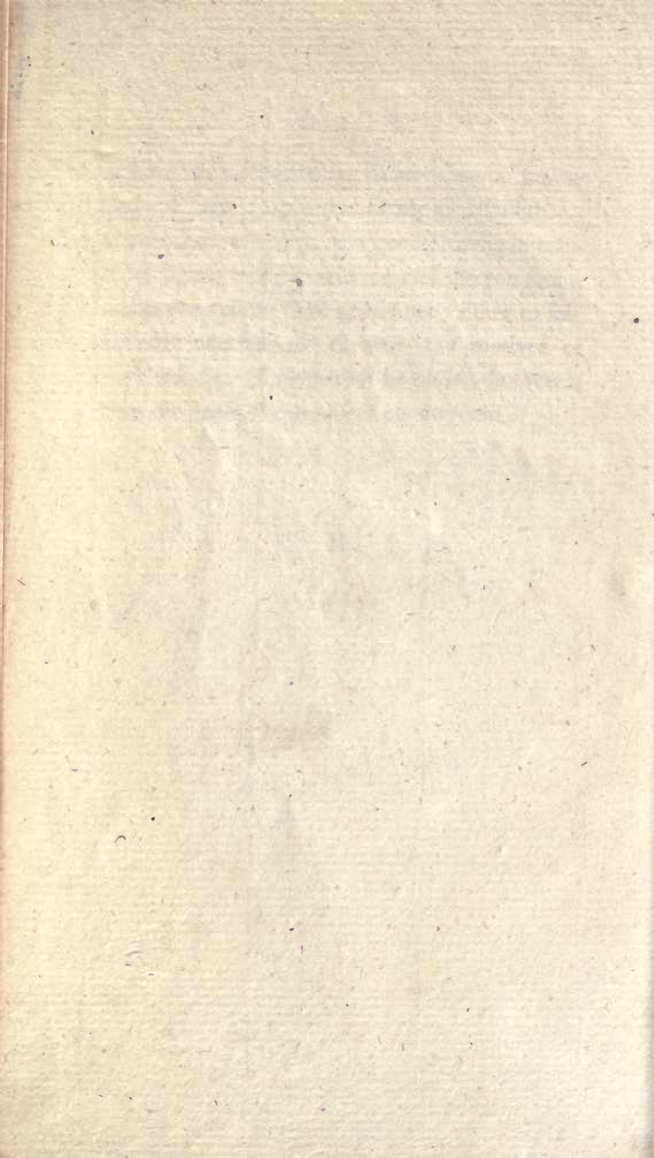
An apology to the Public for an intrusion on their time, generally precedes the subject ; and, although I feel the necessity of it greater in my instance than in any other, I still flatter myself it will not be less favorably received, as a conclusion, than if I had, in the usual way, made it in a formal exordium. I may safely place great reliance on the disinterestedness of my motive ; but more powerfully rest on the necessity which humanity laid me under, of taking up a cause, which,

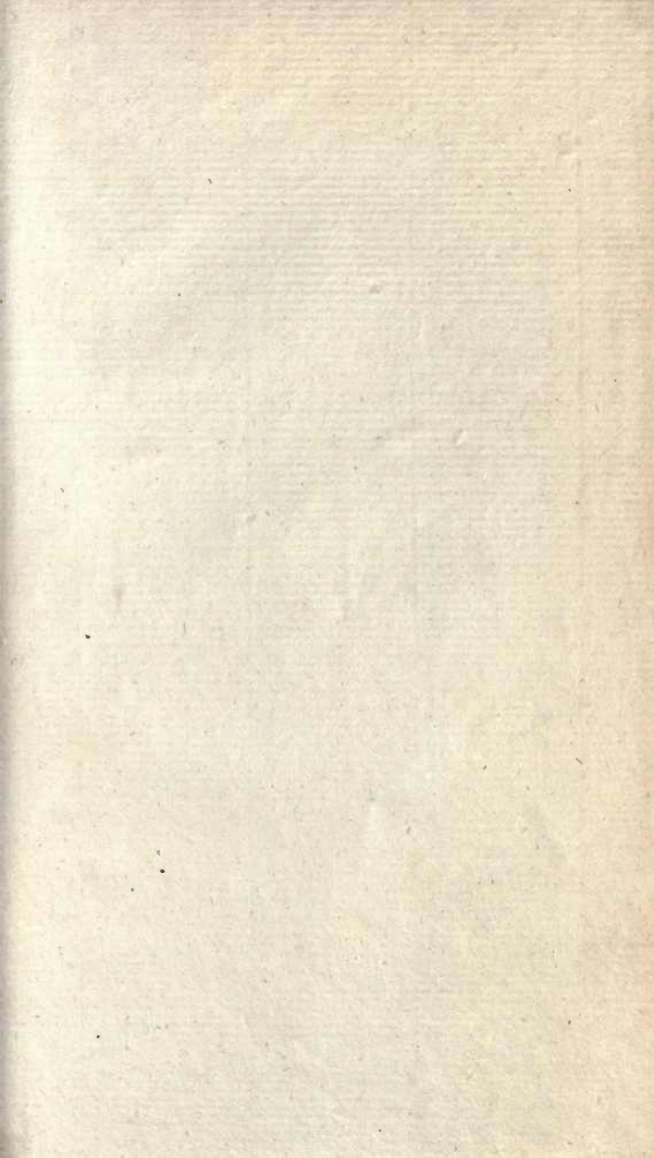
which, in the opinion of unprejudiced people, has been *most shamefully abandoned by gentlemen, whose former stations in India, and present situations in an Honorable Assembly, render it their more immediate province, if not their duty*, which can no otherwise be accounted for, than as the effect of the mistaken principle, of supposing it necessary to sacrifice the whole community of their India brethren to the desperate cause of an individual.---And this abandonment is the more shameful, as the expectation of the nation is naturally directed to them in particular, for a justification of their former society; and that their silence, however indefensible, may be construed into condemnation: they should, however, reflect, that this condemnation must in a more material degree affect themselves, not only from their affinity of power and consequent responsibility, with the individual in question, but from the dread of investigation, which this their silence might imply.---Should this hint tend to awaken them from their unpardonable lethargy, it will prove a great additional reward for any pains I may have been at in collecting materials for the justification of my fellow-countrymen abroad, which, in my
opinion,

opinion, requires nothing more than a simple state of facts amply and firmly to establish.--- I have done my duty, as a good citizen, in contributing my mite towards it; and thereon found a claim to call on these gentlemen, either to follow my example, or to avow the motives of their desertion of what must be no less their own, than the cause of our absent countrymen.

F I N I S.







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